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Sources: [illegible]

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

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BASIC FEATURES OF ECONOMY

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Economy

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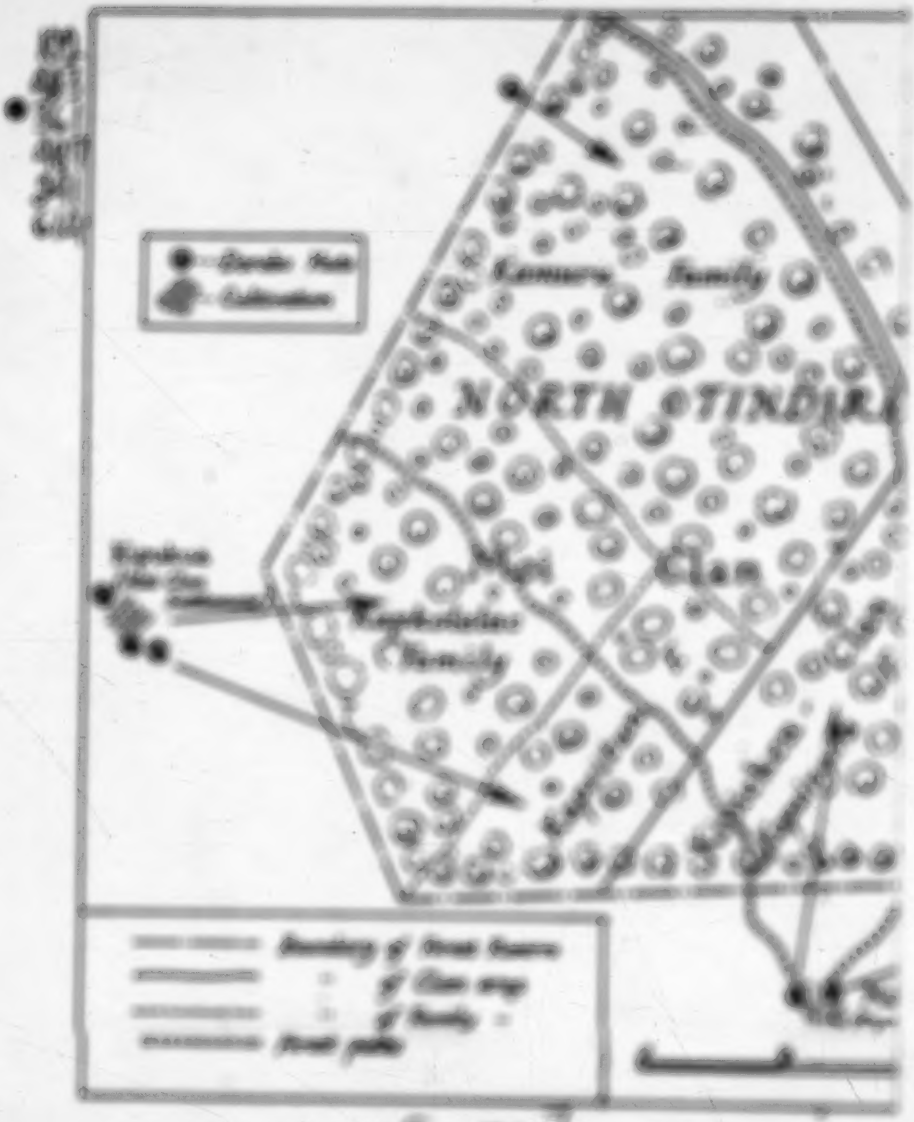

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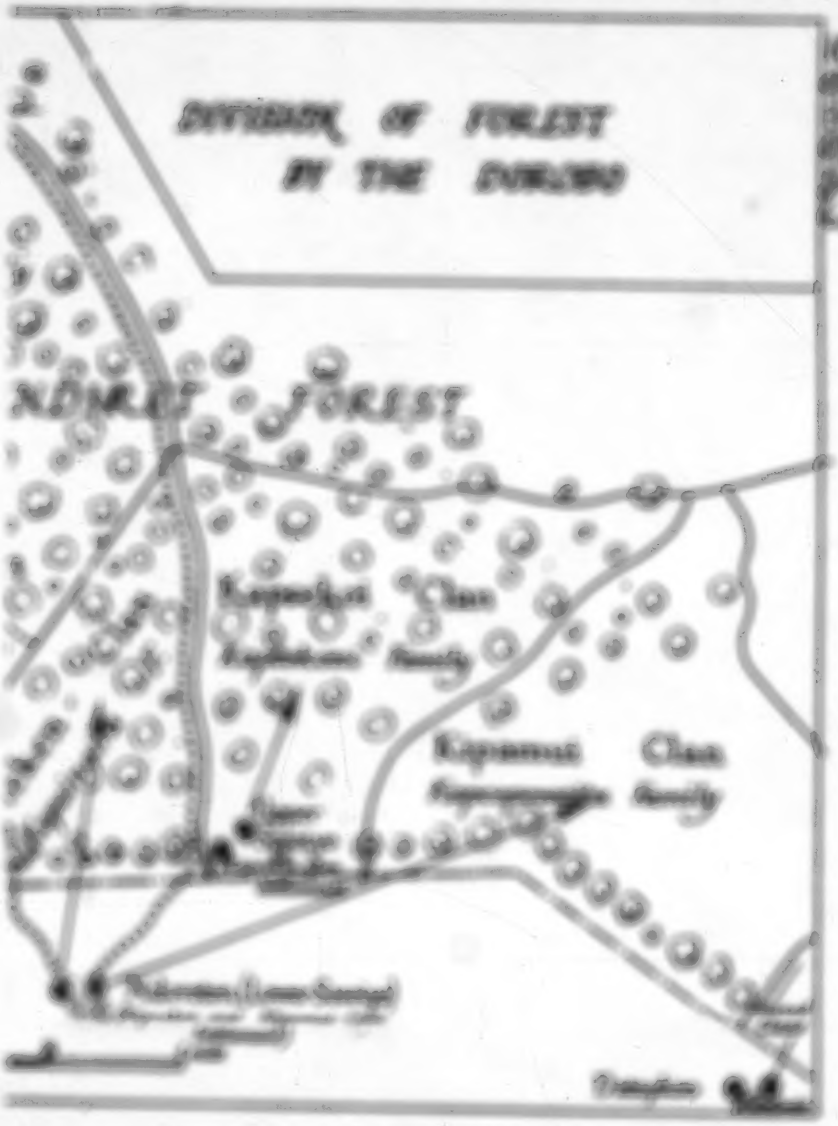

[p. 61]

patronymic from both father's paralign name. Younger men generally take their patronymic from the latter's settlement, or the most recent circumcision to their area then.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Kwafi, and the Dorobo keep record for the opening of the Kwafi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised by Kwafi with other Kwafi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1936-37. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as sponsor for the Kwafi. The whole procedure of circumcision rites is identical with that of the Kwafi. Only outrage the operation of circumcision whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Kwafi, and it works exactly as among the Kwafi, with the same six names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Kwafi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Kwafi system, p. 91. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat-aney* by which the Dorobo have only three, called *Lagabach*, the senior; *Tugundi* or *Kipaliliwonyik*, the middle; and *Ramokiandi* or *Kipsiandik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the girls have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the psychical effect of the system is to introduce further behavioural patterns, as well as to solidify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dorobo *pundit* refuse to shelter one of his own tonds, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set structure.

Economic Organization

Land Relations

The Dorobo live mainly in the settlements divided between a number of clans-in a position (formerly only here). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest, after that they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *ent*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kwet ap ent*, the eldest of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the names, these clans are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in any records they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as still as in 1936-8. Each of these clans has one totem, except that which has *kwet*, one of which is shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, and a group of people supposedly related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan, the exception to this rule is found in the case of Kut, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an exception before the possibly to the influence of the Kwafi, among whom Kut marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 91.) There seem to be no restrictions other on marriage between Kwafi (or among the Kwafi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo have very few totems, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Kwafi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reported clans are all Kwafi.

"The Kwafi occasionally an agent to this end. [illegible] Kwafi word meaning " the tattoo."

1: Huntingford E-4,5 (1926-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

side, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the forest council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to leave the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 76). Theft, when not dealt with immediately, can be brought to the forest council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of assaulting local men may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man bewitched another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo or another clan, though not involving primary murderer, was a serious offence, because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Camps

Housing

(a) Forest type: the *kowogut*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (b) Hut types: the *kowet* has a circular wall about 3 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kut* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *kowogut* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*kach*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a blubber cap, and sometimes dressed with mud, earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

A.Magaiore G-5 (ca. 1936) 1927-28
FSA Shoebox FSA

clans or families," after the manner of the Mussi, but there is no difference between their several houses at the present time. Mbidro and Bilikiri Dandia live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Mussi Reserve to-day. They are hotly enemies* (for Dandia), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Mussi.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dandia (referred to, henceforward, as Mbidro collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Mussi.

According to Lobito, who was the only man to reveal possessing even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the Mbidro is at Tabassi.* He, in common with many Mussi and Dandia elders, admits that the Dandia originally came from a country designated vaguely as Jau,* but no living Mbidro can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Tabassi.

The Mbidro are to be found, occasionally, living with the Mussi in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small outlying kraals of their own, close to the Mussi. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.* More often, however, the Mbidro live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, homeless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn enclosure, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Mussi. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the Mbidro in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcase has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

* More probably the former.
* Possibly one week, including the women and children.
* See note 3, p. 129. * Jibar - in the vernacular the word
* The Mussi regard the eating of birds or eggs as unclean.

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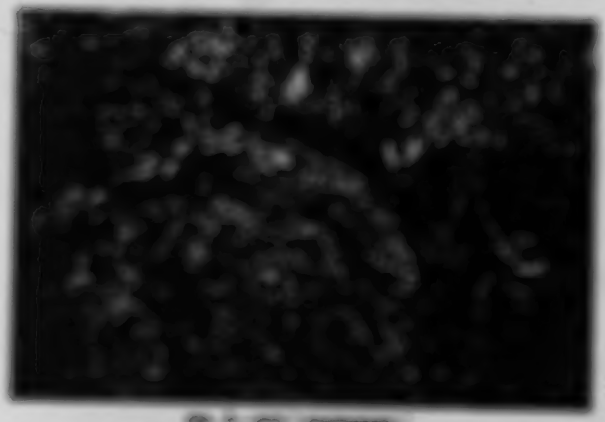


[illegible]

[illegible] Map of the Eighteenth Charter County

[illegible]

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Gondo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 280 surviving members of the Kirkmichael tonds, 87 (), were living in the forest or on forest days to it. The remaining (), were settled in groups to certain areas of Gondi where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Gondi, and in Cuan Valley, with a few in the Glenmore and Brae districts. Most of these (), maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Gondo districts. Under these conditions it is surprising that they have retained so much of their traditional organization, but the segregation of them into groups accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Fortunately it was not too late in 1939 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Gondo.

The dispersal of the Gondo made it necessary to classify the people according to their residence, and this resulted in a grouping of the tonds to four "domestic categories":

I. Tonds the bonds of an aggregate of 6000 ft. and over.

II. Tonds on the edge of the forest, usually over 7000 ft. and within a mile of the forest.

III. Tonds on Gopish Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with several conditions generally similar to II, but a little lower.

IV. Brae, Glenmore and Cuanbeg where conditions is places are similar to III.

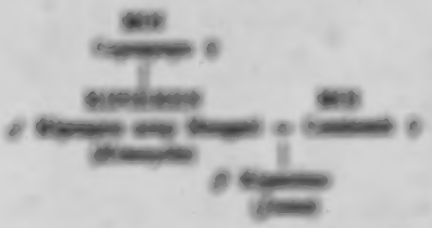
An analysis of the census and domestic categories will be found in the Appendix p. 9.

Here in this paper we are first and only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and then a short summary of other aspects of Gondo life may be included. The social unit published life of the Gondo is based on the idea which has its core meaning in that with personal affairs and even in day groups live in the groups. This is common to the Tonds where the Gondo are dispersed and play for a small part in common political life. The Gondo is divided into nine divisions or gentiles (Gondo: *ghe tonnandh*) of which only four are now inhabited. These divisions have names (Gondo: pl. 1 *Cuanna*[1], 2 Bridge, 3 Gopi, 4 Glenmore, 5 Gopish, 6 Brae, 7 Kirkcam, 8 Fort, 9 Gopish) to which are Bridge, Glenmore and Gopish were inhabited. No have had been passed with Brae). Each person has a name, which must also express belonging to the division or a short designation of that. The Gondo never suppose the exact date of his birth. Names consist now and then have one underlying significance in the past, but the exact one that a name designed and the thread what has the Gondo consist.

There is no chief of the tonds, but an elected chief at Gopish is called the at Gondo consist the tonding was developed — the committee

[1] *C* is hard, much as in and one the was throughout

[illegible]



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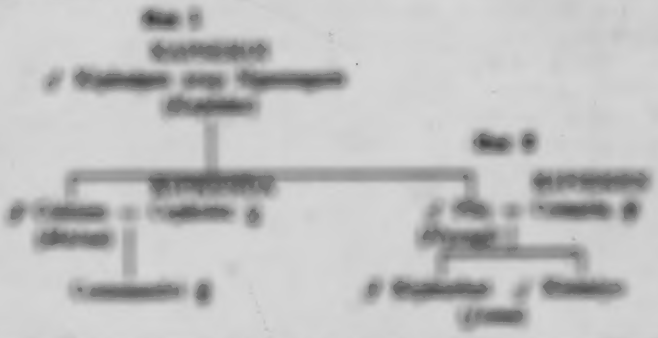

[illegible]

[illegible] helps his wife in bring up the children, overlooking her choice on him in affection which subsists childhood love and age.

[illegible] My chief friend and informant among the Dwardas, Kimaya wrap Khaing, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipadaw, with his mother Lakhetkan, and his family consisted of the following:

Lakhetkan ♀

/ Aung Khaing = Kyihsaweme ♀

/ Kyiwone ♂ Kyihame ♂ Thinkyo Khaet ♀ girl not yet named, born 3 Dec 1938.

In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of the centre of his [illegible]; but by November of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a palisade round outside the planets. His mother's hut was about 400 yards away at the other end of the planets. His thing here will [illegible] to himself being a Pyungyi ranged from about four years old (some age-mate to himself being a Pyungyi ranged from about four years old (somewhat [illegible] Khaing, the other girl, was about seven. At this time he slept in the third part of the hut, the room, where his goods are kept at night, and he [illegible] with the children in the front part, the [illegible]. This was because his wife was [illegible] a baby. Initially, Aung Khaing should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, his wife [illegible] the room from the [illegible] was allowed to make the back room as a separate hut (the original type of [illegible] but has no partition at all).

[illegible] the day I arrived [illegible] early and found that Kyihsaweme had gone across the valley to get a new [illegible], leaving Aung Khaing in charge of the children. [illegible] when the baby, but still he found the responsibility [illegible] a bore; [illegible], and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Kyihsaweme fed the baby, and the children [illegible] to eat, and soon [illegible] to the river to wash. At this time, when there is no [illegible] work to do, the other people [illegible]. On some days Lakhetkan comes to Aung Khaing's [illegible] to help with the cultivation. Kyihsaweme normally visits her own [illegible] once [illegible] while the baby is so young. When she does go Aung Khaing goes with her, and the baby is left with [illegible]. But the family is not so far away that Kyihsaweme cannot [illegible] the children if anything goes wrong.

[illegible] Dwardas [illegible] ought they seem to be independent and self-[illegible]. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, and in spite of the parents' authority, but [illegible] [illegible], yet the relatives who seem to counteract such to the parents [illegible] by friends seen at once to the father's brother, [illegible] who often lives in his own [illegible], or if not, only a short distance away. This person, [illegible] [illegible] is or other brother, has a position of authority over the brother's children's [illegible] equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

NANDI

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Fig. 1. Plan of a remote Remote in Saipan Lagoon, Fiddi Remote.

In Remotes in 1998 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs and a pest of moth called Remotes, that the original Remote had to be given up, and the occupiers built up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Remote has a Remote all to himself, more often, however, several people divide the area between them, each contributing to the labour of making it, and to make room Remote about each of a Remote Remote with Fiddi (Fig. 1).

Though not connected with settlements, we may mention here the subject of work Digging. Remotes is to correspond with the grounds that are often worth to Remote even Remotes (or Fiddi Remote, as the Remote call it), and were we to question of how or how to dig it. They are nothing but a digging stick, Remote made of a Remotepoint wood, and the work is carried Remote to Remote Remote Remote, by Remote Remote, when often Remote Remote to the work practically easy. A digging party Remote with Remote to dig Remote the Remote into Remote and Remote Remote of Remote, and thought as the Remote to Remote Remote get it to work Remote if a Remote Remote Remote the Remotes, the party Remote of Remote Remotes digging. Remote as an Remote Remote Remote Remote. Remote Remote are Remotes Remote. Remote the Remote get Remotes Remote to the Remote, Remote Remote Remote Remote

① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿

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Appendix

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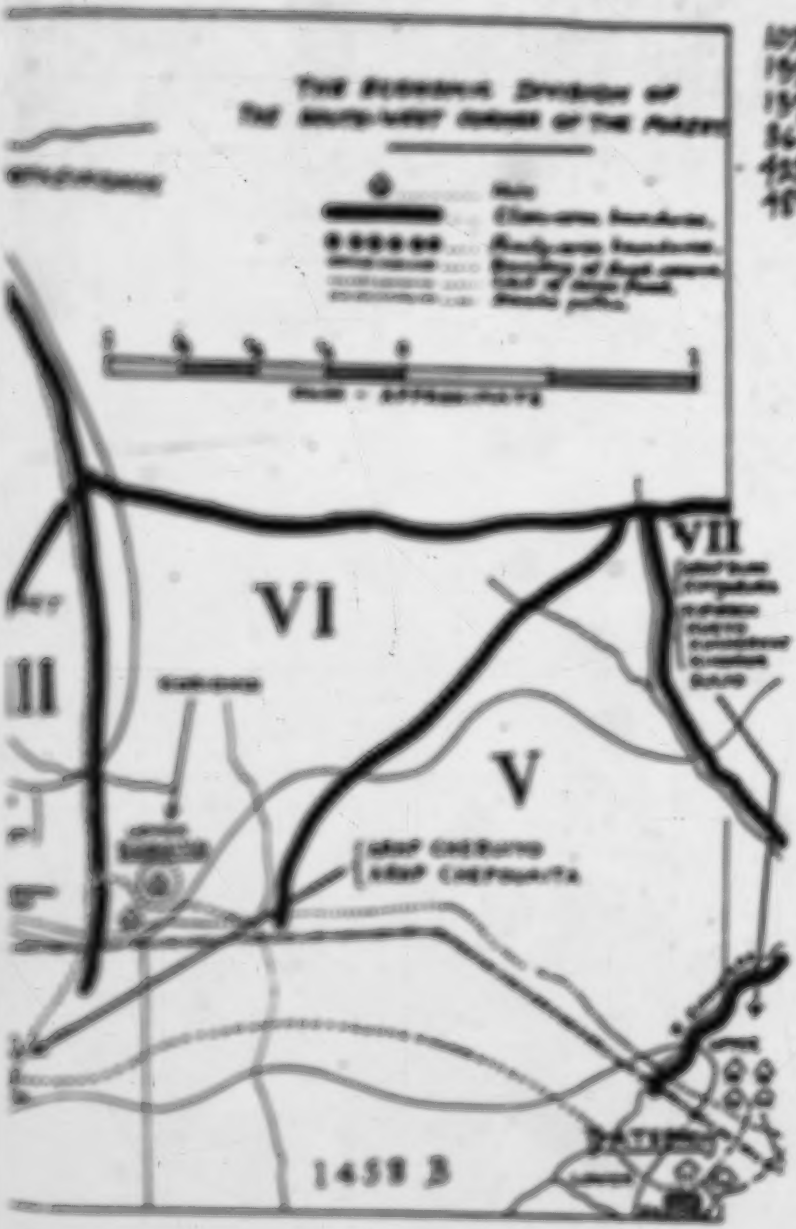
VI
VII
III
V
1458 B

Huntingford E-1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

162
361
621

The people contained in these settlements in 1939 were:

Kipokos:
Arap Mimi, his wife and 5 children.
Arap Ruto, his brother.
Cenkirikat, his mother.
Arap Keter, his wife and 3 children.
Kipsoo, Kolokwo, Kipsogei } brothers of A/Keter
Cepkoiec, sister of A/Keter.
Arap Tebuny, classmate.

Upper Sosoiyo: Arap Cepsumia.
Arap Ceruiyo, his brother.
Kipor, his brother.
Kipkutik, his brother.
Simotua, classmate.
Kiptanui, cousin of Arap Cepsumia.
Kwimo, brother of Kiptanui.
Kimitei, his brother.
Cepetip, his sister.
Arap Lengai, relationship not established.
Kerisnai arap Manyenguo, his wife and 3 children.

Xdoroton: Arap Singiro.
Ortuyi, his brother.

Kipkemei, his brother.
Arap Ngeli, Arap Kemei } classmates
Arap Cemamin.
Brother of last two.
Widow with 3 children.
Widow.

Isolated: Arap Kerum, alone.

Upper Ngatopkoo:
Kipiro (Kipiekwo).
Kweyo, his brother.
Kimmeikai, classmate.
Daughter of Kimmeikai.
Kibaror (Kipiekwo).
Arap Eani (Kapsekai).
Kimnorum (Kapsekai).
Sulio arap Silimbo (Tuiyot).

Lower Ngatopkoo*:
(1) Toto arap Kamnik, his wife and 3 children.
(2) Nekai arap Korrom, his wife and son.
(3) Kilunyo arap Kerongon, his wife and 3 children.

* Note that (1) is Kipiekwo, (2) Kaigil, and (3) Kapsekai.

Physical Characteristics.—The Wandonko, although on the whole shorter in stature than their neighbours, are by no means a dwarf race. They resemble, very closely, the Dukwiko and other tribes of Sinoia (Pl. XXVII, Figs. 3 and 4). Their measurements are appended.

The Village.—The Wandonko village (above) is characteristically situated on the edge of a very steep or precipitous slope (Pl. XXVIII), and has an inner and outer stockade, within the which every hut (ie, grain) within the village is built enclosed. Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three granaries of cooking stones. Similar clearings, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact town. The huts are very small, but some of them have two stories (Text-fig. 94), the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens on the side, for storing grain and property.

Fig. 94.—An erroneous view (False).

They are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico. The compounds and huts are kept very clean, and all dirt and rubbish is swept up and dumped outside the village, the limit of which, away from the creek, is determined by a semi-circular fence that protects the village from run-off during rains.

Dress and Adornment.—This is essentially the same as that found among the Lakwas, except that circumcision, apart from the aspirs, seems to be but little practised.

Livestock.—The Wandonko are essentially a race of hunters, but they have obtained a few goats from the Dukwiko, and they keep dogs.

Agriculture.—Cultivation is on a small scale, and is generally undertaken at a distance of some miles from the village, in a valley from which they procure their water. The Wandonko are the tobacco growers of Sumanja, and as an example of the shortness of tribal memory it may be noted that the people say they have always grown tobacco (*bwali*). In addition to this they grow a little sesamum (*mwenje*), native corn (*nyakwanje*), and millet (*nyoli*). A heap of

[p230 (R)]

[illegible]

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE DOBUANS

By C. G. S. SELIGMANN

I

The Dobuans, who call themselves Tōdoi, are a [illegible] [illegible] people scattered over the high lands of Dobu and Fergusson. Twelve groups are recorded, and it is known that they are all exogamic, and that all speak dialects of Tōdoi. [illegible] The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tōdoi Area in the S. E. of the Field Reserve, at an average altitude of over [illegible] 2000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Sulgwa, Sigibomena, Gwaiyia, Chagaiwa, Nima, and Wabagaiti, which were five or six miles in the south from their another group in Tōdoi-tobi. [illegible] My investigations have been limited [illegible] to the first three of these divisions, since Chagaiwa, Nima, and Wabagaiti no longer exist, and the answers on Tōdoi from a distant group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dobuans were forbidden [illegible] by the government to live in the lower swamps, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, notice an appearance of the Dobuan

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Experiments, most fully worthy of a crime-free, but not [illegible] In 1911, in accordance with the decision of the Royal Land Tenure Commission of 1910, they were handed [illegible] and settled in the Crown Reserve. This attempt to settle them existed their native [illegible] failure, and they are now an eyesore for [illegible] group of semi-[illegible] a precarious existence on the [illegible] which extends up to the edge of the forest. Unlike their north as a race, they are [illegible] have a [illegible] and although they are [illegible] in the in March, the majority do not [illegible] to, and are [illegible] especially of being kept [illegible] of their own [illegible]. I had fortunately made [illegible] their acquaintance in 1907, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1910, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took in [illegible] showed a total of 151 people. This is probably not the full story, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans, the names [illegible] were enumerated thus:—

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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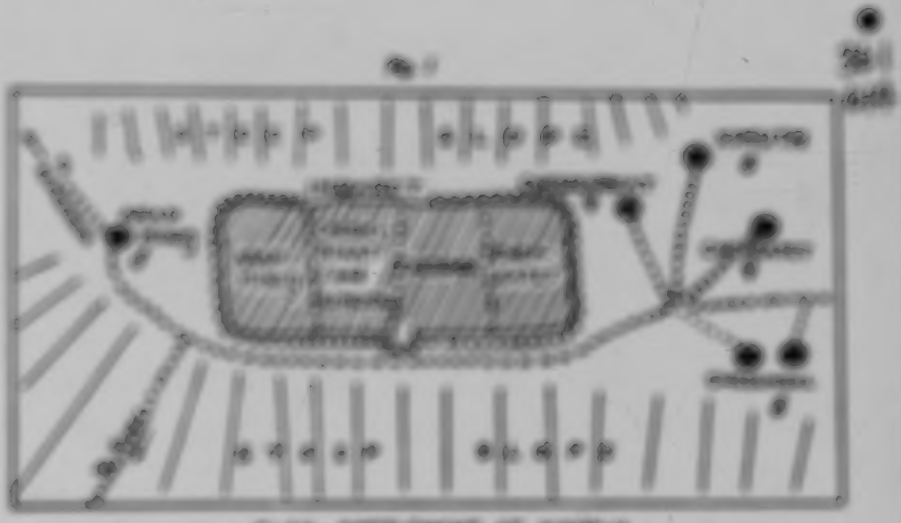

Dresden FL6

[illegible] Thirteen Mess Lists.

[illegible] Before closing this chapter I may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe, the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili, or a small race of people scattered over Masai land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The ostrich, the buffalo, and the rhinoceros supply them with meat as they are found, while they always find neighbouring tribes, too glad to barter vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where these animals abound; as for instance, in the Aruwa forests of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, the forest-clad mountains of Meru, the top of Elgeyo, Mongasho, Chibbabongwein, Suey, Doinikh, &c. They are nearly found in numbers, and rarely in very small villages, as the duty in putting the arrow into the enemy does. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they set immense store of wealth in the idea by attending the most curious, wealthy are the Masai for both to a considerable number of the army. They also act as gobetweens or middlemen in getting the wanted people the vegetable food they require. So much an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Kajiado, at the place called by the native Olmoron, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or to any to the natives.

The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they use all much the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the indiscriminate slaughter of the women, as well as the young natives, a principle of the creed. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their connections with the natives must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the runner of a cocoon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in darting a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being covered over with the deadly poison of the snake. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the